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WHOLE SERIES, VOL. II. ANTHROPOLOGY, VOL. I

MEMOIRS

OF THE

American Museum of Natural History.

Volume II.

Publications

of the

Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

Volume I. 1898–1900.

Edited by FRANZ BOAS

NEW YORK:
Published by Order of the Trustees.
FOR SALE BY
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York and London;
J. B. BAILLIÈRE ET FILS, Paris;
B. FRIEDLÄNDER & SOHN, Berlin;
AND AT THE MUSEUM.
1900

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II. — The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians.

By Franz Boas.

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8—Mem. Am. Ethn. Soc., Vol. II. 1900.

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I.

105 The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coasts of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, two long and narrow fiords situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name "Bella Coola" is a corruption of the word "Bilxula," by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no term in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the introduction of other diseases, its numbers have dwindled down, so that at the present time it has been reduced to only a few hundred souls. The 105 language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more par- 197 ticularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coasts of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast-Salishan dialects leads me to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous areas. At the present time the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable stretch of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been highly modified, particularly by an extensive elision of vowels. The relation of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Tillamook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, which is spoken on the coast of Oregon, in an area separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the district inhabited by the Chinook.

105 Physically the Bella Coola bear evidence of long-continued contact with 144 the northern Coast tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior. Evidently intermarriages have been quite frequent, so much so that their present physical appearance differs considerably from that of the southern Salishan tribes, of whom they form a branch. The same is true in regard to their customs and beliefs, which differ fundamentally from those of the southern Salishan tribes.

121 In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, and discuss its development.

II.

114 Our previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on studies made by Adrian Jacobsen, Filip Jacobsen, Goetzen, and the writer. In 1886 I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Goetzen pub-

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1886, p. 200.

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lished some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1886,[1] which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1895.[4] Filip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6]

III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:—

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above another. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts

[1] Original Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1886, pp. 173–179.

[2] Ibid., pp. 177–179.

[3] Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 1–21; Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Leeds, 1890, pp. 562–568.

[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1895, pp. 383–390.

[5] Globus, Illustrirte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde, 1894, pp. 173–176; 1895, pp. 1–13.

[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 369–378; 1895, pp. 49–56, 189–193.

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772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Ăsta'ăxs., or Sxaxa'ak-a'la ti Sxax-t'aix', or Sxaxaas. Qaaq'a'akilk'a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called
[774] Qaaa'its, or Ta'-skaiaxs. ("our woman"), or Ek-'lyak-tamxa'la. ("afraid of nothing").

772 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that
776 in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rest in the sky which is called Ta.aa'laaa ti Sxax-t'aix'. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the o'aix, or xualtsalt'xam. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
823 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qaaa'its made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yelyele'ax., which is situated near Nus.la'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Sxaxa'ăkmal'l.; the other one, Na'axs. The former had a fire, called Sxaxal'k-a'maxa, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qaaa'its made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qaaa'its was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T'kax." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Sxaxa'ăkmal'l. It is said that Qaaa'its visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sxax-, stands the
776 house of the gods. This house is named Naaaa'ts (the House of Myths), or Nuk!aa.aaa'a'axa ("where man was created"), or Nuk'-a.a.a'aaxa ("the house from which people come down"), or Nuqalaaa'a'axa ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Na.aaa'a'aa. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

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white crane (?). Qa'stis, is sitting on top of the post. The master of the house is Snaxa, the Sun. He is also called Ts'atis ("our father"), or Snaxa'yaxbilis ("the sacred sun"), or Snayaxit'ac.ls. It seems that he is the only deity to whom the Bella Coola pray. They do not pray to Qmaq'is, the deity of the supreme heaven. I have not found any prayers directed to the other deities of the lower heavens. I recorded a number of such prayers directed to the Sun. They are as follows: — 772 776 774 783 539

Ax.k'a'x.t'ax Tsatsa'! ("Look on us where we are going, Father!")

Tsatsa'! ax.k'ats.wax.ts'a! ("Take care of us, Father!")

Tsatsa'! ck.ats.wax.t'a.ats.wax.ts'a.ts! Tsatsa' nalq'.ats.wax.ts'a! ("Father! take care of our road! Take care of us!")

After a long-continued rain, they pray: —

Tsqax'.ax Tsatsa'! k.ax.'a'.lxwaxax.t'a, Tsatsa'! ("Wipe your face, Father! that it may be fair weather.")

The mountain-goat hunter prays: —

Qnqa ytsaxtsax, Tsatsa', ta.ax.ax'.waxa, Snalq'.ats.lax'! ("Let your children look at us, Snayaxit.ls, Father!")

A person pursued by misfortune prays: —

Nalqaxaxk'.t'ax.ax Tsatsa'! waxqaxak.wa.ax ti q'lqx.waxaxax.ta'.s. ("Make me happy, Father! You have given me too much misfortune.")

A sick person prays: —

Nalqaxaxk'.t'ax.ax Tsatsa'! ck.s.waq'.a.ax.ax Tsatsa'! ("Let my life be long, Father!")

The successful hunter, or the woman who has found a plentiful supply of berries, prays: —

Nax.alqaxax.k'.t'ax.ax ti nakx.t'a'.ats' ck.s.nalqaxaxk'.t'ax.ax.ts a.ya'.ax.ax.ax.ts ck.t'ak.s.ti ti nq'a.ax.t'a'.ats'. ("Father! You make me happy. You give me what I desire. Then I find what I wished for.") 776 782

The Bella Coola also make offerings to the Sun. Hunters throw four small slices of seal-meat, of mountain-goat tallow, etc., into the fire as an offering to the Sun, in order to obtain success in hunting. Sick people burn parts of their clothing, which they decorate with red cedar-bark, as an offering to regain health.

The second deity, who is called Ax.k'a'xnx'a'x, seems to be of equal importance. Snaxa and Ax.k'a'xnx'a'x stay in the rear of the House of Myths. Near the five steps Snax.k'a'xts'a'ts. He is an old man who formerly ruled over 776 [775]

the House of Myths, but who has given up his place to those of Raven and Ak'unit'ats. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy men, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar characteristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on pp. 3ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Ak'unit'ats's mother, Nemamik-tequen'as, is described as a Cannibal, who incurs her long sweat in the care of men, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.' I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Ak'unit'ats, the stake being the salmon. Ak'unit'ats lost, and the man took the salmon down from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 24), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, Ak'unit'ats also gives to man the power to cure disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the Bella Coola which is called hi'ixit, and which corresponds to the t'ins'aqs of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial and its importance in the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[1] The hi'ixit is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the hi'ixit are mostly dramatic representations of myths referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths: therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[2] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are Sisiu, Ak'unit'ats, and Sunk'alx'a'lis. The functions of many of the inferior deities seem to refer solely to the hi'ixit. These deities and their functions are as follows: Skwaikai'x (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death of men and animals. As there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths, it is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the hi'ixit. This duty is announced by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-wulk Kallal.[3] Nemal'aq'ala (Plate VII, Fig. 3), in the Sisiu'lq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[1] Verhandlungen des Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1895, p. 049.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 611-638.
[3] Reisen in der Südsee, p. 600.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1895, p. 500.

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corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets of the ka'ūsut dance approaching the house. The Nuxnu'iq is a fabulous monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 63 ff.). Q!aiēx-q!aiēx-a'k (Plate VII, Figs. 11 and 13) is a boy who performs ka'ūsut dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by Q!aiēx-q!aiēx-a'k. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the ka'ūsut dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Awaqē'ilxem is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when Tsēx and Ats!'xem'ts threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Sntsmā'ns (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and Ainā'ēxs (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 12). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from sleep. Ainā'ēxs is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an eclipse. The moon is called A'ns!ā'q!ēs (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is produced by several deities called Aiq'aē'yemxem, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 5-8). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the ka'ūsut, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Ainā'ēxs cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (Emblēm'ēlēlē) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human ka'ūsut dancers. Sntsmā'ns and Ainā'ēxs also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the ka'ūsut.

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned with the ka'ūsut, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of the world. Important among these is K'vēvēkvā'm (Plate VII, Fig. 5). Tsēx is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K'vēvēkvā'm. When Tsēx creates a new-born child, K'vēvēkvā'm gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Nuxqēmāsā'y or Sīsmāmā'lēlēm Sīsexālī'nxsēs places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, Tsēx sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Nuxqēmāsā'y might therefore be called the deity

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 666.

575 776 575 776 821 776 842 [113]

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having charge of the birds of all animal beings. While she is rocking the cradle, she sings,—

"[illegible]
[illegible]"

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Nemt'emqa (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 9), the daughter of Smkqa'mxlts. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the Sun is believed to move on his path towards the west, then forward, and consequently during the spring months towards the sky moving towards the right; so that Smkqa'mxlts, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to appear. Every spring Nemt'emqa gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the coming year. Two beings called Kekemal'ts, the tsnt'emm are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its centre, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nemtcha'lelks (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. Ax.k'umt'm has two children,—the elder, who is called Sem'lexmlis Ax.k'umt'm, that is, "the foolish son of Ax.k'umt'm" (Plate VII, Fig. 8), and t.exmxis'u Ax.k'umt'm. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sxaa and Ax.k'umt'm are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of men. Their thoughts are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Mnemmk'ulis, or Gmk'e'mxymxm (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are Mn.qas'lmelk' ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), Yek'-tlmut ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), Mn.'qas'emelk' ("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and h.'ka'lak'. They have a sister called t.'k'qumtlks. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave men his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make bows, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

point. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Mamaxmaxalā'xis gives them the idea which they are working out. 776

Sisiaq has a daughter named Sp!ex!p!k!ua'ɛm, who invented the art of working cedar-bark. Her figure is also used in the kq!aiat ceremonial, in which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. This deity has an assistant called Omaxoa'k!, who supports the stick over the edge of which she is breaking the bark. When first breaking bark, she shouts, "Aɛɛɛx sisya'lxaas ti Omaxoa'k!aɛɛx" ("Bring to me Omaxoa'k!"). After he has been given to her, she shouts, "Aɛɛɛx sisya'lxaas ta tspek!aɛɛ" ("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this, she demands the cedar-bark breaker, saying, "Aɛɛɛx smakpaɛɛ'lx ta sp!e'k!aɛɛ." Finally she asks for cedar-bark, saying, "Aɛɛɛx k!aɛɛ.k!aɛmx-laix ti sp!e'k!aɛɛx." Then she begins to work, singing,— [534] [535]

"E ees ek!'x-aɛɛx! ti ɛɛɛx l'aɛɛx la lax'a
E ees ɛɛɛmɛɛ'lx tal Sp!ex!p!k!ɛɛ ɛɛɛx ɛɛɛx ɛɛɛxalā'xis"

("Behold me, ye who are not initiated!
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker of ɛɛɛxalā'xis.")

It occurs that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Sɛɛɛx to our world to become the ancestor of men, but at the same time it is told that he invented certain arts. It is stated that he made the first salmon-trap (ɛɛ.k!'a'l), which is used in connection with the salmon-weir. 776 773

It is also said that Mamaxmaxalā'xis attempted to make the whistles for the winter ceremonial, that he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then returned to the House of Myths.

Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particularly concerned with the observations of the kq!aiat ceremonial (Plate IX, Figs. 1–9). The names of the brothers are, Xɛɛɛxɛɛɛxalā'xis, Xɛ'ɛɛɛxɛɛɛx, Ooq!aɛk!k!k!a'a, Q!a'ɛɛɛxɛɛɛx, Alɛɛɛxalā'xis, Al'aɛk!k!k!a'a, K!a'k!lax, Q!alaxa'ɛɛɛ, Al'ɛɛɛk!a'; and of their sister, t!ɛɛɛ'sp!ɛɛ.ɛɛɛ. These deities are painted with certain designs. Xɛɛɛxɛɛɛxalā'xis and Xɛ'ɛɛɛxɛɛɛx are painted with the designs of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white cedar-bark); Ooq!aɛk!k!k!a'a and Q!a'ɛɛɛxɛɛɛx, with the design of the half-moon; Alɛɛɛxalā'xis and Al'aɛk!k!k!a'a, with the design representing the stars; K!a'k!lax, with the design of the rainbow; Q!alaxa'ɛɛɛ, with the de- 776 776 532

776 532 sign of the salmon-berry blossom: A'T'mâk^{a} has the shape of a kingfisher; and L'ĕtsa'aplĕLAna is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xĕmxĕmalâ'oL.la is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspó'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of ALk'unta'm.[1]

776 773 In one tradition L'ĕtsa'aplĕLAna^{a} is described as visiting houses and stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these [114] [575] ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'k^{a} ceremonial,[2] but this impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the kŭ'siut.

575 773 776 [772] In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named L.lŏ'sta, in which the son of the deities lives. His name is Ba'EXŎ.la or Snupaaxoa'lt. When SEnx and ALk'unta'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them past the door of Ba'EXŎL'a's room. The latter then rushes out of his room and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to the tradition of the tribe SE'nxL.EMX^{a}, they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Ba'EXŎ.la came down to the mountain Sqtsl., where he met with the son of SEnxalŏ'LEla, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Q'oalaiu'tstimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Ba'EXŎ.la took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qama'its. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qama'its sitting in front of her house; and she said to Ba'EXŎ.la, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1895, p. 894.
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 8.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1970)1900 . MS: Bellacoola MS

suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qama'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qama'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qama'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq'xsEn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him.

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Kōkō'ɬxEm, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'ō'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI).

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanō's ti Sōnx·t'aix· (Plate X, Fig. 1). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k·

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 575 ceremonial, and sometimes in the ka'sint. The following song belongs to his mask and dance:—

[539] Nanemō'tstanlt ti q'ɔ-yaki'mstal'aix. Nō'nɔq'awēxum tɔ'ɪn t'ayōɬxlal'aix ayan anano'a ti wōnx t'aix, wā, nōn, ai!

("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven")

776 821 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti Sōnx t'aix. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasala'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ɛmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Aɬk'x·ē'tɬnɛm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ēx tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ēk·!x· tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Mānɬ t'aix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Aɬqōɬ ti Mānɬ t'aix· ("the painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

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There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·ai'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'aɬ-walō'sɛm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasala'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasala'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasala'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·ai'x·

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'awa'omsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Mamaxalá'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kā'sīut song refers to these deities: — 776 821 [539]

Ai'mmx tī mmmsī' tlxxm tī sā'xx'tagī t'aix
Aiēx tī mmmsī' ōx. tī S'alxxlō'mmx tī Sōxx' t'aix.
Sīx'x yā'lxxx tī o'lxxō tī mmmsī'.
Sīx'x mōqx'x wī xxmō'x tī K'awa'omxsh tī Sōxx' t'aix tī mmmsī.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke
Go to S'alxxlō'mmx of the sky, my child!
Ghosts my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōt, or Qanx'l'ist, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Alēp!alaxtnaix'. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake: and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik"pstak'imtōls," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sēlāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kā'sīut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōlk"lōlg'mx'). It is called Asistā'nxm. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEB Bellacoola NEB

their kā'sist. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anāxt.'ixmā.ai'x'. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 42).

The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Mia'lma. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Winwī'na lived at Q'ō'nqōtis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Winwī'na entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mia'lma. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking,

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in regard to this matter. I asked my father the Sun (see Chap. V) to give us salmon, and I think he gave you the dream which you told us."

All the birds agreed, and they resolved to start as soon as possible. Then Winwī'na asked Maamsala'nix to build a canoe. The latter complied with his request, and made a self-moving canoe, to which he gave the names "Winsiosemā" and "Kuskuu'qstuns." In the third moon after the winter solstice the canoe was completed, and Winwī'na started, accompanied by the clouds, the birds, and by all the animals. The Hermaphrodite was sitting in the stern of the canoe. They went down the fiord; and when they passed the village of Bella Bella, they saw the Cormorant sitting on the beach, who asked to be taken along as a passenger. They travelled westward for a long time, and finally they reached the country of the Salmon. They saw that there were no trees. The country was a vast prairie. A large sun was shining in the sky. Soon they descried the village of the Salmon. They sent out the Raven as a spy. When he returned, he told them that in the evening the Salmon were in the habit of playing on the beach. Mink suggested that this would be the best time for carrying some of them away. Then the Crane (according to another version, the Hawk) said, "I shall carry away the Sockeye Salmon." The Wren said, "I shall carry away the Humpback Salmon." The Kingfisher (according to another version, the Crane) said, "I shall carry away the Dog Salmon." The Raven said, "I shall carry away the Silver Salmon." The Fish-Hawk said, "I shall carry away the Olachen and the Salmon Trout." The Cloud said, "I shall carry away the Spring Salmon." Finally the Cormorant said, "I am only a passenger, and I will take whatever I can get." The Mink remarked, "I will not say what I am going to carry away; I only want to tell you that you must each take one male and one female. Now start. You are invisible to the Salmon. When you approach them, they will not be able to see you, just as we cannot see the ghosts, even when they are walking by our side." They left Winwī'na to guard the canoe. Then all the birds and the Mink took each one male and one female child of the various kinds of fish. When they carried them off, the children fainted, as though their souls had been taken away. Their bodies remained at the place where they had been playing. The Salmon did not see their captors, and did not know why the children were fainting. The birds returned to the canoe, carrying the fish. Then Winwī'na said, "Let us go on and see what is beyond the country of the Salmon." Soon they arrived at a place called Qoale'nia (this name is not quite certain), in which vast numbers of berries were growing. Here the Hermaphrodite went ashore, and picked all kinds of berries, which she carried into the canoe. Then they returned home. For seven months they had staid in the country of the Salmon. They reached the coast shortly after the winter solstice (?). When they passed Bella Bella, the Cormorant

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said, "This is my home. I will go ashore here." He went, and took along the Salmon which he had captured. Ever since that time there are salmon at Bella Bella. The others travelled on, and came to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Then they threw all the various kinds of fish into the water. The Salmon jumped, and began to ascend the river. Then Winwī'na arose in his canoe and told each at what season he was to arrive. He scattered the berries over the mountains and through the valleys, and told them at what season to ripen. After he had done so, he invited his companions into his house, and gave them a feast.

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In this tradition the birds and animals are not called by their ordinary names, but by mythical names. These names are as follows:—

ENGLISH.	ORDINARY NAME.	MYTHICAL NAME.
Spring salmon	ǰmt.	t'ōlt'ā'ls·tīmōt
Sockeye salmon	sdmt.	nanōtsak·mēLXAITAT·'m ("very long")
Humpback salmon	k·xp·a'i'	anuk·'pēmai·x·.
Dog salmon	tlīl	·saxia'lloa ("fair weather.")
Silver salmon	wa'ls	k·'pēxōxōmai·laix ("making himself beautiful")
Salmon (sp. ?)	——	ō'sip'āq
Cloud	sk·t'ē·moos	tsa'kouk· ("long hand")
Hawk (?)	stsix·ts'ex	anuk·'k·iqtsaix· ("looking down into water")
Wren	moxat'a'laqa	t'lk·ma'lxLaix· ("jumper")
Crane	xaq'k'ōs	mexexē'lioa
Raven	qoa'x	LXOa'xoaqmai'laix· ("rising early")
Cormorant	t.'ō'pana	k'oa k'ingʷila
Hermaphrodite	ex'inta	at.a'ya'ō

According to the belief of the Bella Coola, Winwī'na's canoe arrives from the country of the Salmon every year. It stays in the country of the Bella Coola for nine months, and then returns to the country of the Salmon. At the moment when it leaves, another canoe, which is named "Nō'ak·nEM" or "Nunuk·su'tanEm," which brings the kū'siut ceremonial, arrives from the country S'anōk!pta'ltan. The canoe reaches a distant point of land before the departure of the canoe of the Salmon. After four days it reaches a nearer point of land. Four days more, and it is seen at the point of land nearest to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Another four days, and it reaches the mouth of the river. The Indians believe that there is a house named Snō'amLtEnank· at this place. A post is standing in the water in front of the house. It is called Snutexoalaxbtana'nk·. In the house live three men who are named Naapaulaxxai'x·, A'malagʷilis, and Tixti·k·'a'naxmēm. The canoe is tied up in front of this house. As soon as it arrives, the kū'siut ceremonial begins. At the head-waters of Bella Coola River, forming the watershed between Bute Inlet and Bentinck Arm, is a mountain called

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Smaya'ɴs, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxumk'ila. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smaya'na in a single tide. The canoe "Nó'ak·nɛm" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qtstuLs" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "Nó'ak·nɛm" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nó'ak·nɛm." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows: — 773 805 821

Sɛ'ɛmt (*winter solstice*)	Sɛ'ɛmt (*summer solstice*)
Sxólx·mx·nɛm	Sl'ɛxom
Xɛ'ɛlnɛlmɔ̄l	Sexɛ'ɛmɔl
Sinq'u·m	Sinulla'hɛmtɛnɛm
Sɛqlɔ̄'lx·	Tsí sitak'ɛ'ns tsɛ.ɛu Anɑnlikuts'ai·x·
Sinɔ̄'moak·	ɪ.ɛmɛl'ɛm

The canoe "Nó'ak·nɛm" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qtstuLs" leaves, in the month Sinulla'hɛmtɛnɛm. The canoe "Nó'ak·nɛm" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qtstuLs" returns, in the month Sxólx'mx·ɛnɛm.

At the moment when the canoe "Nó'ak·nɛm" arrives, a deity called Anɑnlikuts'ai'x· (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nuskɛsiɔ'tsta. It is said that one Anɑnlikuts'ai'x· lives on the mountain Sqtsɛ. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Anɑnlikuts'ai'x· has an older sister who is called Nutsɛ'xɛnɛm. When the canoe "Nó'ak·nɛm" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the kɛ'sint. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nuskɛsiɔ'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anɔ'nk·, on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlɔ'stxuLt, lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

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There is a special deity who initiates the shamans. His name is LALA-ia'it, or Sxai'cxnax (Plate XI, Fig. 9). He lives in the woods. He carries a wooden wand wound with red cedar-bark, which he swings in his hands, producing a singing noise. Around his neck he wears a large ring made of strips of bear-skin and red cedar-bark. He sometimes plays in ponds which are believed to be in certain mountains. When he jumps into the water, it boils. When a woman meets him, she begins to menstruate; when a man meets him, his nose begins to bleed. When initiating a person, he touches the chest of the latter with his wand, and paints his face with the design of the rainbow. Then he swings his wand,—the noise of which causes the person who hears it to faint. He creates sexual desire in man and animals. A shaman who was initiated by this being told me that he very often sees LALAIA'IT., who tells him who will die and who will fall sick. Sometimes he sees that the body of a person is black. Others he sees dancing on their heads. These are signs that they will die at an early date. I obtained from this man the description of the visit to the country of the ghosts, quoted before (p. 38). He told me that when reaching the country of the dead, he saw the ghosts of his deceased relatives sitting in the house. When they saw him, they began to weep, and said, "Don't come here. We don't want to see you so soon." While they were speaking to him, the chief's speaker entered the house, and called all the people to come to the dancing-house of the ghosts. One of the ghosts painted his face black and white, and tied long strips of white and red cedar-bark in his hair. The people were called four times. Then they started to go to the dancing-house. The entrance to the door was over a narrow plank. When he had just stepped on the plank, he suddenly saw LALAIA'IT., with his large neck-ring made of red cedar-bark and strips of black bear-skin, who took hold of him, turned him round, and told him to return to his own country, because, if he should once enter the dancing-house, he would not be able to return. Then he revived; and from that time on, LALAIA'IT. was his supernatural helper.

A. Jacobsen describes this spirit as follows:[1]—

"The most prominent among the spirits of the shamans is Kle-klati-e'il [LALAIA'IT.]. He lives in the woods, where the youth who intends to be initiated tries to find him. When the spirit meets him, the youth faints. When he recovers, he begins to sing a song, the tune and words of which have been given to him by the spirit. Now he has become a shaman, who uses this song in all his incantations; but he does not retain it throughout life, because he meets his guardian spirit almost every year, and then he receives new songs. The Indians believe that Kle-klati-e'il has human shape, but he is clothed in cedar-bark, and wears a great many rings of cedar-bark.

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 104.

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Some of these he gives to the shaman. . . . A third spirit is the Skaia [Staî'ĉaoax], which is believed to live in rivers, and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skaia."

I believe this spirit is identical with LALAIT-L., who, as stated before, has the second name Staî'ĉaoax. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the people initiated by them are not shamans, but ki'sint dancers (see Chap. VI).

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition:—

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had four sons. The three elder ones died. Then the father and mother and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had caused the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I come to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch carved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach any one, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side."

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539 756 776 He walked on, and after a while he noticed a man sitting at a distance. Then he hid the switch under his arm. When he came near, he saw that the man wore a large green nose-ring. He hit it with his switch, and threw it to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have attained me as your supernatural helper. Your name shall be S'a'tems [from 'a'tema,' 'dead']. Many people have seen me, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not struck my nose-ornament, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you knock the nose-ring from out of my nose, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will break the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the men whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

756 776 Other shamans are initiated by L'etsa'aplelana. The same man who gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts (see p. 38) told me that at another time he saw L'etsa'aplelana flying in the air outside of his house. She wore a ring of red cedar-bark around her neck. She was turning round all the time. Wings were coming from all parts of her body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, as the narrator expressed it, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after meeting the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The a'stas, is another helper of the shamans, and the means of curing disease (see p. 28). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. When a person sees a a'stas, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. Its skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should stretch his hand backward, and thus he will find the leaf of a lily, which is the only thing that can cut its skin. He should not touch the a'stas with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing disease. Sick people will buy small pieces of the a stas, for which

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?:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEδ Bellacoola NEδ

they pay high prices. The piece is thrown into water, in which it is kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons chew the white cedar-bark in which it is wrapped up, in order to regain health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the at'sins, is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal. 756 776 [755]

Tox'lax.'it is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his moccasins, or his mountain staff moving about. The following tradition describes some of his characteristics:— 776 539

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Tox'lax.'it watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ts'o'lapala. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Tox'lax.'it, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q!p!t. (that means a "barren mountain-top"). Tox'lax.'it reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Tox'lax.'it arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Tox'lax.'it asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Tox'lax.'it made my arrows." Then Tox'lax.'it was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?"—"Certainly!" replied Lynx. Then Tox'lax.'it took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every

7:Boas E-5 (1894-ca.1898)900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

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one of them will have killed a large mountain-goat." The Lynx descended the mountain, and saw that every one of his arrows had killed a goat. Then he was glad, because now he had food for his children. He jumped and danced for joy. And Tsul'kus'it said, "I am Tsul'kus'it. I am so called because I am the mountain-goat hunter. Now return to your village. From now on, I am your supernatural protector. The next time you go hunting, and you do not find any mountain-goats, sit down and throw your arrows down the mountain. Every one will kill a goat. But do not lose those arrows. If you should lose them, you would never kill another mountain-goat." The mountain-goats were so large, that Lynx took only their fat, which he put into his quiver and climbed down the mountain. He arrived at his house in the afternoon. He left his quiver outside, and the Raven saw him coming in. The Lynx sat down by the side of his wife. He did not say a word. His wife and his children also received him in silence. In the evening, when it was dark, he said to his wife, "Go and fetch my quiver. It is hanging outside on a stick." She went there and tried to lift it, but it was too heavy. She returned to her husband and told him that she was not strong enough to lift it, and asked him to fetch it himself. He said, "It is not heavy." He went out himself and brought it in. He opened it and took out the fat; and he gave some of it to his children, but he did not give any to the Raven's children. Then the Raven was very sad. After a little while, the Raven's children began to cry, because they wanted some of the fat.

Early the next morning the Lynx went to fetch the meat of the mountain-goat. The Raven watched him, and saw where he went. When he saw that the Lynx had killed mountain-goats, he made up his mind to go hunting too. He told his wife to make him a quiver while he went out to cut wood for his arrows. In the evening the quiver and the arrows were done. In the afternoon the Lynx came home, bringing the meat of the mountain-goats. Early the next morning the Raven started, following the tracks of the Lynx. He reached the place where the Lynx had sat down. He sat there, and placed his arrows by his side. He looked around for mountain-goats. After some time he saw a staff moving along in the distance. It approached, and soon he saw a man coming down the mountain. It was Tsul'kus'it. He reached him, and sat down opposite the Raven. They did not speak a word. After a while Tsul'kus'it arose, took up the arrows, and said, "Man, your arrows are beautiful. Who made them?" The Raven did not reply. Then Tsul'kus'it said again, "Tell me who made your arrows." Then the Raven answered. "The name of the man who makes my arrows is Raven." Then Tsul'kus'it took the arrows, threw them down the mountain, and said to the Raven, "You are bad!" And he turned back, and ascended the mountain. The Raven went down the mountain, trying to find his arrows.

7:Boas B-1 (1884-A, 1902)500 NEB Bella Coola NEB

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was utterly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tsi! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first one to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some more and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Tsi'lan'it was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nuxe'q'l. A similar tradition is told of Antsi,[1] by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Antsi are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awik'enox of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'tsun is the father of all mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'tsun, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His herald is called Ax-ooli'tsmum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, c'apus (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6).

[1] Cf. Anthropologist, New Series, I, 1899, p. 60.

T:Boas B:3 [illegible] NBA Bella Coola NBA

The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kl'ôtsa ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 1), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a horse back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is then made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by Sun. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe. The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

Village.	Location.	Inhabitants.
1. Q'ul'ten	At the bay of this name.	
2. Ts'i'is	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tsmai'ex.
3. Nuxa'q'ul	On South Bentinck Arm.	Snaxaiek'l'ax, Nuxaqa'ulaxmi, Ts'i'is, and their sister K'ae'xemx.
4. Ts'i'nala	At the entrance of the valley opening on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Ts'i'nalaxmi, T'ax'ts'i'k'ulaxmi, Skaiel'k, Skaiel'k.
5. Axqa'ala	The present division at the south side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Axqa'ala, Kimsq'asmx, Sisaomaxa'k, and their sister Axqa'lanx.

8. Tsmaxa-mdk-q'ap	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 5.	
7. Tx!q'lx-tskaxa	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 6.	
6. Sx!ka'lx	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 7.	
5. Sa'qax	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 8.	
10. Nak-q'lx	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River.	Q!cc'x.
11. Q!x'lmayaxlx	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 10.	Xc'nkax, Gk'mq'imkk-lk.x, and their sister Nxemk'ax.
	(Nos. 4–11 jointly are called Nuxa'lk.)	
12. Nxaax	About one mile above Nuxa'lk.	Nxyo'lkmmx, Inaxc'mlitx, Nxyo dc'xelx, and their sister Nxk'emaax.
13. Tsmxal'ax	On Bella Coola River, above No. 12.	Nc'ak dx. Tsccxemxk.ut'x, and their sister Smxk'mxa'lx.
14. Nxk'l'xlx	On Bella Coola River, above No. 13.	Gk Ix'x.
15. Xlk'l'x	On Bella Coola River, above No. 14.	Gxaaxx nc'ax.
16. Nxad'axaxa	At junction of Nxad'xaxa and Bella Coola Rivers.	Q!nxGxmk qa'ax.
17. Axa'laxax	On Bella Coola River, above No. 15.	K'laxk ca ax Axq'exca'.
18. Nxaq'axmaxa	On Bella Coola River, above No. 17.	Axaxaqak t.ax.dax'x, Ixyk'yax, one more than, and their sister.
19. Tsaxaxaq'ax	On Bella Coola River, above No. 18.	
20. Nkaqk'lax	On Bella Coola River, at foot of Mount Nkaq'o'lax, above No. 19.	Tcax'ak'yax.
21. Haxaa'lx	On Bella Coola River, above No. 20.	Gaaxcaxax'x, Na'axaax, Saxcx'ax, and their sister Qaxaxax'qx.
22. Nxk'lx	28 miles above mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 20.	At the end we find Nxax k'alx, Nxa'ax, Xc'axlaxa Axqax'ax, Kxax'x, Nxkaqk'ax, and their sister Kxaxaxa'ax.
23. Nxa'k'xlax	On Bella Coola River, above No. 22.	
24. Nlk'axx.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 23.	
25. Q!xc'qx	At head of South Dean Inlet.	
26. Nk'lax	" " " "	
27. Axa'lx	" " " "	
	(Nos. 25–27 jointly are called Tx'lax.)	
28. Nlaax	At mouth of Salmon River, Dean Inlet.	
29. Nlaxq	Dean Inlet.	

1 Name on, etc., not mentioned, etc., n. more, sing.

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361 773 It is very remarkable, that, besides the ancestors of the villages enumerated here, the Bella Coola state that the Sun created a number of men whom he sent down to a mountain on Skeena River, and that they became the ancestors of a part of the Tsimshian. Another group of men was sent down to Dean Inlet, and later on migrated to Bella Coola River. The names of these villages and men are as follows:—

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Tsilaxa	Ancestors
Nexaq'ax (Skeena River)	Yaqō'aaxs, q'ōōx, tsa'ya, and their sister q'ōōxaq'a.
Xa'ax (Dean Inlet)	Xīxsiōlaxs, Gaaxsaa'axsta, Gyō'ōpentaxs, (French) ax

The full traditions relating to them will be found at the end of this chapter. Each of these ancestors, when sent down to our world, received a salmon-weir, which was placed across the river at the locality where they built their village. I shall now relate a number of traditions of the various villages.

Tradition of Xa'axs.

680 In the beginning our world was dark. At that time Tsimō'ax descended from heaven, and reached our world on a mountain near the river Wā'k-templ (Fraser River). Here he built a house, in which he lived in the company of the Raven. The latter had a black canoe which was called "Raven." The two resolved to travel in order to find people. They descended the river until they came to the sea. After some time they reached a house which was covered inside and outside with abalone shells. The entrance of the house was also covered with shells. It shone like the sun. They saw a canoe on the beach, and this too was completely covered with abalone shells. A chief, whose name was Pēlaxsa'ax ("abalone man"), invited them to enter his house. As soon as Tsimō'ax reached this place, the sun rose. If he had not found the place of the abalone chief, there would be no sun. Tsimō'ax did not wish to stay. He looked at the house, and saw something turning about on top of it. When they came nearer, he saw that it was a klak, which was running about on the roof. Many people were inside the house. When Tsimō'ax approached and saw the beautiful canoe, he wished to have it. He offered the chief their canoe in exchange. The offer was accepted, and Tsimō'ax travelled on with the abalone canoe. The Raven said with the abalone chief. Tsimō'ax continued his travels, following the course of the sun. First he travelled southward, and came to the post which stands in the west of our world. From here he travelled on, and reached the copper country, which is situated

[pp. 51–113 not processed]

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the middle of the water, the barnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the barnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very stout, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we have separate horses. They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Hook of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 11.)

VI.

It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts published by Fitty and Adrien Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the sisaul'a and the kt'ûsta, which correspond to the xat'âxa and the q'âsta'xpe of the Kwakiutl. I have described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[1] The sisaul'a ceremonials are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the kt'ûsta ceremonials are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. Among them, the Cannibal Society, the Society of the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important. These are called by the Bella Coola the sisaul'a'ats, Ôlx, and Dê'ôls. I described on pp. 32, 33, the spirits presiding over the two first-named societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They believe that a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsiwae initiates the Cannibals. He is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and large mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals. It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella Coola. Jacobsen maintains that Baxbakualanuxsiwae is the particular spirit of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

[1] Additional legends of the Bella Coola have been published in the publications quoted on pp. 31, 32.
[2] Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 311-338.

tradition of the Ax'k'ùtcx as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only modification which I saw in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is described as making out through their sore the brains of children,—an incident which I heard related of the mother of Ax'k'ùtcx.* He calls him "Back-Back-Kwakiutl, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Pih-Pih Kaukaumtcx." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither here I have able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. 1–6). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Gaukiha Ko" (Qā'qaqā'kō') in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the cnuk'a and the kā'oxa, stating that the kā'oxa dances are performed during the cnuk'a in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a tsā'lōxa may be celebrated during the tsī'k'wānqe. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, cnuk'a dances may be held in summer, in which case the kā'oxa could not possibly form part of the cnuk'a ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the cnuk'a takes place during the kā'oxa period, it would naturally be accompanied by kā'oxa dances.

As stated below, the cnuk'a is a ceremonial to which the legend of the clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the cnuk'a of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the cnuk'a legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

* Cf. Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

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Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the sinaik' ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

A clan legend which is illustrated in the sinaik' ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Semeoma" or "Sasi'yoma." These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same traditions. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted;[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

The hê'ltsuk, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[3] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

The person who invites to the hê'ltsuk, that is to say, the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'xtem to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the hê'ltsuk is placed. The names of the brothers are Xtsuxtsmâ'xa.ls, Xi'mxtsus, Qmq'emâ'lkʷa, Q!a'xmxus, Ainsâ'xa.ls, Ai'xmâ'lkʷa, K!ê'lkʷa, Q!ulxa'xus, Xi'xmâ'x; and that of their sister, c!tsai'xpxlaxs (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xtem, in which he lies down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Jesup, Pac. Exp., i, 43.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. [illegible].

7:Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1899)900 NES Bellacoola NES

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in this room. Then the host sends messengers to invite the people. They take staffs, and tie red cedar-bark round their heads, and go from house to house, singing, "Nayeudets wa ninnup'intse' he!" (="I wish to find some one who understands the winter ceremonial.") This they repeat in every house. Then they return to the host's house, who sends them out again, ordering them to sing, "Qaa'sk'tm tsetts wa ninnup'intse' he!" (="I wish the dancers would wash their hands.") Again they return to his house. They are sent out once more with the message, "Xe-tsak'emdets wa ninnup'intse' he!" (="I wish the dancers would make their hands tremble.") They return once more to the chief's house, and are sent out again with the message, "Tspumsk'tets wa ninnup'intse' he!" (="I want the dancers to look at their hands.") Now the dancers are ready, and come to the house. Then E'xem arises and dresses. He puts on a head-dress of birds' skins, ornamented with red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by women. Another man, who is called Nuxa'ia'ns., adorns himself with red cedar-bark. He carries in his right hand a small baton covered with red cedar-bark. In his left he carries a larger stick, on which he beats time with the small baton. He sits down, and now all the people enter. First of all, E'xem comes in, accompanied by many women. Nuxa'ia'ns. begins to sing and to beat time, and E'xem shouts, "Oos!" E'xem walks around the fire, keeping it to his left, and shaking his bark. Before he begins the circuit, he gives four jumps near the door. Four times he goes round the fire, and every time he reaches the door he gives four jumps. As soon as he does so, Nuxa'ia'ns. beats time slowly. When E'xem has finished his dances, the people take him to a place near the door, and a woman sings near him. Nuxa'ia'ns. and the people join her, then she dances her winter dance. Before she quite finishes, the people make her stop, and another woman begins her dance. Nuxa'ia'ns. beats time, and the other people join his song. The people make her stop again. Then a great many people perform their dances. Now E'xem appears again, crying, "Oos!" and Nuxa'ia'ns. beats time. Again he jumps four times to the right and four times to the left when reaching the door. After this, two more men and two more women perform their dances. After this has been done twice, E'xem stands near the door, looking upward, and says, "There are very many now." By this time the whole house is full of people. He goes around the house three times, dancing. Then he stays near the door, looking upward, crying all the time, "They are near by." When he reaches the door the fourth time, he cries, "They have arrived! Now they are here, dancing on the roof." E'xem continues to dance in the house, in order to induce them to come down. The first to come down is Xemxemsalt'ea.ls, who stops at the rear of the house and sits down. E'xem continues to dance, and the others enter in order. E'xem stands near them and says, "Now I have placed

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

them. Let the chief give them red cedar-bark." The people take small pieces of blankets, and sew red cedar-bark on to them in designs corresponding to the paintings on the faces of these deities, and they give these to the deities in order to appease them. Then they throw grease into the fire. During all this time É'xēm stands in the rear of the house; and when a painting has been finished, the man who offers it to the deity shouts, "Xēmxēmalá'ōɬ.la t'aix·tau'!" ("This is Xēmxēmalá'ōɬ.la.") And É'xēm sings, "Yayak·lamēts'ēk·a wa k'waɬtenai'x·aɬ t'aix· tai'ya; aɬt'aɬ.'ō'mataxstōs nusk·asiōtstsai'x· asɛɬkulatōtita'ya." As soon as he has finished his song, a loud noise is heard on the roof, as though a heavy stone were falling down. É'xēm arises and performs a dance, while the noise of whistles is heard proceeding from him.

I am not familiar with the details of the ceremonial, and shall proceed to record the principal characteristics of the various societies. The Cannibal is initiated in the House of Myths by Ba'ɛxōɬ.la. I recorded above (p. 34) how a young man was initiated by this spirit, and how he was returned to his friends. The return of the Cannibal is accompanied by ceremonies similar to those recorded in this tradition. It seems that the ceremonies of the Cannibals of various families are much alike, each having a tradition of its own referring to the initiation. It is believed that all the Cannibals, during their initiation, go up to the sky. I was told that on this journey they have to take human flesh along for food. It is said that in former times the chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for Ba'ɛxōɬ.la. The offer was accepted, and a payment made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Ba'ɛxōɬ.la order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods.

The spirit appears to the novice while he is in the woods, and takes him up to the House of Myths, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside of the houses. He has lost all his hair except a little in the median line of the head. It is believed that it has been torn off by the strong wind blowing in the higher regions. Some Cannibals do not devour human flesh, but tear dogs to pieces or devour raw salmon. The ceremonial consists in pacifying the Cannibal, and exorcising the spirit that possesses him. This is the object of the ka'siut ceremonial. After a Cannibal has returned, the people try to capture him. When he is first heard to approach, the speaker, whose face is painted black, and who wears a cedar-bark ring, and is covered with eagle-down, shouts, "Tix·ma'ts'ɛn tak·'axta'ɬit tsaɬ.'aɬ'ōts'aɬ. P'aɬx·ɛxtsalatstsnai' tix·ma'ts'ɛn tsasiwalo'ɬit t'aɬ.'aɬōtst'aɬ'!" ("Arise, it may be our Cannibal. Awake!") The Cannibal is accompanied by four assistants, who are called Aɬiłpa, and who from time to time utter

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the cry, "Hoip!" which is intended to pacify the Cannibal. They wear masks (Plate XII, Figs. 4 and 5). The people try to throw a noose over his head; but he throws it off, refusing to be captured. Then the people shout, "Ya'i!" beating time rapidly. The Cannibal tears the ropes that hold him, and disappears. Then the people follow him, and search for him until they find him. As soon as they approach, he attacks them, but gradually he becomes quieter. Then the speaker (Alk°) invites the people to the dancing-house, saying, "Ip'a'nap kukusiau't!" That means, "Dance, dancers!" Now the Cannibal opens the door, accompanied by his assistants. He wears the mask shown in Plate XII, Fig. 3. At once a number of women arise, ready to surround him as soon as he enters the house. They are called Atal'au'ltemx°. The speaker, who holds a staff, arises and shouts, "Ô n ya'li-watimôtx Alqôtayak·ai's!" That means, "Act like a real Cannibal." The Cannibal utters his cry, "Hoaaa, hoaaa, hoaaa!" ending with a long deep growl. He stays in the doorway for a long time. Then he steps into the house, turns his left shoulder outward once, bites one man on the right-hand side of the house, and one on the left-hand side, and then performs his circuit of the fire, leaving the fire to his left. In dancing he holds his fists in front of his chest, one on each side. He moves in a stooping position, raising his feet very high. He dances for four nights, during which time the people try to pacify him by means of songs and dances. After he has first been induced to enter the house, he becomes quieter. Then he tells the people what he has seen during his absence, and the song-leader makes a song on the subject. The women do not learn about the events that took place during his absence until they hear the song. After four days the ceremony of exorcising the S'a'ɪ.psta (Plate XII, Figs. 6 and 7), the monster that possesses him, is performed. A large dish is ornamented with red cedar-bark: and the assistant of the S'a'ɪ.psta (Plate XII, Fig. 8), by means of incantations, makes the Cannibal vomit the snake, or the wolf, or the eagle, that possesses him. Then he is seen to carry the head of the animal under his left arm, while the body is seen in the rear, being held by his assistants. Then this animal is seen to vomit flesh and blood into the dish which has been prepared for the purpose. The Cannibal's assistants cover the body of the animal with down, while they cry from time to time, "Hoip!" Then the people beat time very rapidly, and suddenly the S'a'ɪ.psta has disappeared. The people beat time four times, and after this the Cannibal has become like an ordinary man. He walks around the fire, which he keeps to his right, and says, "Now Ba'exoɪla has left me." The contents of the dish are thrown into the water, but the dish itself is burned in the dancing-house. It is supposed that it is thus conveyed to heaven. After the dish has been burned, the Cannibal does not dance any more. Then a bed is prepared for him in the rear of the house, in which he must stay for four days. After this, he is

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allowed to re-enter the houses; but before doing so for the first time, he must stop at the door and shout, "Wa, wa, wa!" Then he jumps over the threshold. Accompanied by many men, he is led, after four days more, to the river for final purification. He is pushed into the water, but struggles to free himself. He tries to duck his companions, and utters his cries. Finally he is led back. Then he weeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people beat time while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hoip, hoip!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must lie down. After the dancing season is ended, he is again allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is eaten by children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the lip of the S'a'ı.psta out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hoip!" Then they throw the lip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For four years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, in summer as well as in winter.

The Ölx is also initiated in heaven by the being described before (p. 35). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ölx, during their performances, walk ropes which are stretched through the house. When he returns from his initiation, small whistles, called ea.l'laxa, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the houses. Then the Ölx enters in a state of ecstasy, scratching the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people beat time, then he teaches the chorus-leader a song. The mask worn by the Ölx is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 9). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, Fig. 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

VII.

We will now discuss the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighboring tribes. In another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

[1] Indianische Sagen von der nord-pacifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. vi + 363.

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mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident.

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis. Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions are personified by certain dancers. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. Here we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal.

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the totemism of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] "Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 333).

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171 621 maternal and paternal institutions. Descent is in the paternal line; but a man, at the time of his marriage, receives his father-in-law's crest as a dowry, which he holds in trust for his son, so that actually each individual inherits the crest of his maternal grandfather. The clans are exogamic.

The organization of the Salish tribes of the southern coast, who are linguistically closely related to the Bella Coola, is somewhat similar to that of the Kwakiutl. They are divided into village communities, a few of which have amalgamated, as, for instance, among the Salish tribes of Vancouver Island, among whom the tribe consists of a number of septs, each of which owns a separate village. Here the influence of northern totemism is very much weaker. While most of the village communities have certain crests, these do not play so important a part in the social life of the tribe or in its mythology as they do among the Kwakiutl, and the village communities are not exogamic. The Salish tribes of the interior are organized in very loose village communities without any trace of totem.

The fundamental difference between the northern tribes and the southern tribes consists, therefore, in the fact that the northern tribes have a limited number of clans which are present in all the villages, while among the southern tribes the village community is the only unit of organization.

The organization of the Bella Coola resembles most closely that of the Coast Salish tribes of southern British Columbia. In both cases the tribe is divided into village communities, which possess crests and traditions. This latter feature is, however, very much more strongly developed among the Bella Coola than among the southern tribes. They differ in their laws of intermarriage. While among the southern Coast Salish tribes there is a tendency to exogamy, the Bella Coola have developed a system of endogamy.

The tribes of the Coast Salish of the Gulf of Georgia claim descent from mythical ancestors, who are believed to have originated at the place which the tribe now inhabit. A number of traditions of this kind bear evidence of having been derived from historical events. Some of the tribes in the delta of Fraser River have traditions which refer to the amalgamation of tribes who descended from the mountains, and who are described as the descendants of animals living in the mountains, and of the natives of the delta,[1] I believe 174 that the tribal traditions of the Bella Coola which were told in a previous chapter also bear evidence of the historical fates of the tribe. It is very remarkable that the important tradition of Tötoso'nx gives Fraser River as the place to which he descended from heaven. In another tradition, Bute Inlet is given as the place at which one of the Bella Coola tribes originated. In still another one, Skeena River is mentioned as the home of one of the tribes (see p. 69). I do not doubt that these allusions to territory

[113] [1] Ninth Report of the Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the North-western Tribes of Canada, 1890, p. 3.

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inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia.

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuxa'lx used the subterranean lodge which is called tsi'pa (see p. 87), while the ancestor of the Nusq!a'lst used the skin lodge which is called sk·ma (see p. 64).

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish?

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Smai'yakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Ō'mq'ōmkilika is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of

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words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

a'xɛxoula = shaman.
Alk° = speaker.
E'mask'in (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, Hɛ'mask'in) = the greatest chief.
Hau'hau (p. 106) = a fabulous bird.
L'ā'qoag'ila = the copper maker.
t.'ā'qumɛ'lks = sister of Maamaxtg'mix (the ending, *ilx*, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
t.ɛqumaii' = mythological name of deer.
Ma'lsk'ilax.
Mxntsi't (p. 48).
Mta'ltna = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, mɛ) = salmon.
Nɔ'akila (pp. 49, 66).
O'mɛxLk'ax (p. 30) = the real O'mɛxt.
O'mɛxt.mai (p. 70).
Omq'omk!'lik'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ɔ'mq'ɔmkilik a) = the wealthiest one.
Pɔ'Lax.
Qaxastsla'qs (p. 49).
Q'ɔmɔ'qoa (p. 32) = the wealthy one.
Q'ɔ'mqɛtlɔ (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ɔ'mtsiwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Smai'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
st'siut. = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 18, 44, 48).
Smayalɔ'otla (p. 29).
T'ɔ'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Winwi'na (p. 38) = war.
Ya'k'itxmai (p. 30) = the greatest river.

With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

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follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by Sɛnx, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan tradition. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tɛtoso'nx, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

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contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast, they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to SEnx or Ta'ata bear a remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the kē'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxal'waĕ, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 610 ff.

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Our analysis shows that this system cannot be considered as an importation, but that it probably developed among the Bella Coola themselves. After they removed to their new home, a mass of foreign ideas had come into their possession through contact with their new neighbors. While these new ideas were being remodelled and assimilated, they stimulated the minds of the people, or of a few members of the tribe, who were thus led to the formation of an elaborate concept of the world. The concept which they have developed agrees in all its main features with those created by men of other zones and of other races. The mind of the Bella Coola philosopher, operating with the class of knowledge common to the earlier strata of culture, has reached conclusions similar to those that have been formed by man the world over, when operating with the same class of knowledge. On the other hand, the Bella Coola has also adopted ready-made the thoughts of his neighbors, and has adapted them to his environment. These two results of our inquiry emphasize the close relation between the comparative and the historic methods of ethnology, which are so often held to be antagonistic. Each is a check upon rash conclusions that might be attained by the application of one alone. It is just as uncritical to see, in an analogy of a single trait of culture that occurs in two distinct regions, undoubted proof of early historical connection as to reject the possibility of such connection, because sometimes the same ideas develop independently in the human mind. Ethnology is rapidly outgrowing the tendency to accept imperfect evidence as proof of historical connection; but the comparative ethnologist is hardly beginning to see that he has no right to scoff at the historical method. Our inquiry shows that safe conclusions can be derived only by a careful analysis of the whole culture. The growth of the myths of the Bella Coola can be understood only when we consider the culture of the tribe as a whole. And so it is with other phenomena. All traits of culture can be fully understood only in connection with the whole culture of a tribe. When we confine ourselves to comparing isolated traits of culture, we open the door to misinterpretations without number.

If, then, the demand is made for a more critical method in the comparative study of ethnology than it has generally been accorded, it does not imply a deprecation of the results of the method. When the human mind evolves an idea, or when it borrows the same idea, we may assume that it has been evolved or accepted because it conforms with the organization of the human mind; else it would not be evolved or accepted. The wider the distribution of an idea, original or borrowed, the closer must be its conformity with the laws governing the activities of the human mind. Historical analysis will furnish the data referring to the growth of ideas among different people; and comparisons of the processes of their growth will give us knowledge of the laws which govern the evolution and selection of ideas.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

Cross-hatchure indicates black; vertical hatchure, red; horizontal, blue; diagonal, green; dots, orange; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Sisaa (front and profile). Natural color, nostrils red, eyebrows black. Height, 29 inches. Cat. No. 1114.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing A!a'uxit'a (front and profile). Natural color, nostrils red, eyebrows black. Height, 30 inches. Cat. No. 1115.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the Singer of the House of Myths. Blue, red, black. Height, 15 inches. Cat. No. 1116.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Sudā'ala'ā'la (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1118.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing K'u'ē'ā'q!a'a (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1119.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Sīs'aēk'ūa'a (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 31 inches. Cat. No. 1117.

Fig. 7.—Double mask representing Nuxnā'nuq'ala (opened, closed, and profile of inner mask). Inner face, red, blue, and black; inner side of wings, black and red; outer face, black, red, blue. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. 1113.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing Sisaā'laxa'la A!a'uxit'a (the deer). Nostrils and mouth, red; forehead and eye region, blue; eyebrows, eyes, nose, black; rest, natural color. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1120.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing Saēnaxa'xa. Natural color, black, spots blue, lines red. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1121.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing A!a'ā'ā'ā'a (front and profile). Black, blue, red. Height, 10½ inches. Cat. No. 1122.

Fig. 11.—Mask representing A!a'ā'ā'ā'a (front and profile). Red, green, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1123.

Fig. 12.—Mask representing K'ualx.a'wana'la. Natural color, black, orange. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1124.

Fig. 13.—Mask representing K'ualx.a'wana'la. Blue, black, red, natural color. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1125.

[Facing End Plate VII]

[End Plates I-VI not processed]

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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate VII.]

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Mawaq'linuk (profile and front). Black, red, blue. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. 1383.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Yele'numk, and details of ornaments attached to headdress. Black, red, blue. Height, 31 inches. Cat. No. 1382.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Nen'aya'emuk'. Black, red, blue. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1384.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Ts'ets'ak. Black, red, blue. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1385.

[facing End Plate VIII]

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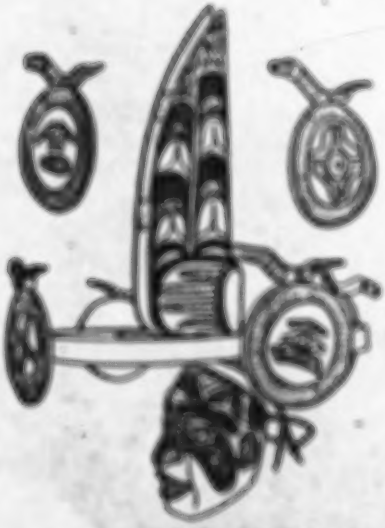

Models of the Haida Creek Indians.

[End Plate VIII]

?:Bureau E-5 (1884--ca. 1890)1900 NEB Bellacoola NEB

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

(All Comb-feathers indicate black; vertical feathers, red; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Xwaxwailäla (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 13½ inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Xä'mxäms (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Ômq'tsuk!ä'x (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Q'ä'mxäms (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Ä'mxk!ä'x (front and profile). Design: stars. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing K!ä'lem, wearing a ring of red cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: rainbow. Natural color, black, red. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Q'ôxsd'ex (front and profile). Design: salmon-berry blossoms. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing À'Yaäk!' (the kingfisher). Wings or sides of head, tail over the forehead. Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing c!Ena'xyälx!ôxa, wearing a ring of red and white cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: grouse-bladder. Natural color, black, red. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. 3[illegible].

[facing End Plate IX]

Y:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)900 NES Bellacoola NES

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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate IX]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)/900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

All Cross-hatchure indicates black; vertical hatchure, red; diagonal, green; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Nayamiqa'emis. Black, red; ornamented with red cedar-bark. Height, 16 inches. Cat. No. 1183.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing the Bear of Heaven. Green, black, red. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1184.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Ak'a'q'Loxos (front and profile). Natural color, red, black, green. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. 1185.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Aiq'ae'yoxsem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1186.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Aiq'ae'yoxsem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Aiq'ae'yoxsem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1188.

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Nomt'oqa, before the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Greenish with faint reddish spots, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1189.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the shaman of Nomt'oqa (front and profile). Black, white streaks under eyes. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1190.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing Nomt'oqa, after the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1191.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing A'ae'k!q'ila (the moose). Natural color, black. Height, 16 inches. Cat. No. 1192.

Fig. 11.—Mask representing attendant of Nomt'oqa (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. 1193.

Fig. 12.—Mask representing the Black Bear. Natural color, green, red, black. Length, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1194.

[facing End Plate X]

[End Plate X]

Y-Bone E-1 (1886-ca. 1892)/NW NEA Bellecombe NEA

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

(1) Some Haidas possess flesh-, wood-, feather-, etc., masquerades, but they assign little special importance to them when the chief feast is held.

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796

Fig. 1.—Mask representing the shoulder-bird (front and profile). Black, red. Height, 10½ inches. Cat. No. 1/8/9.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Ts'ekil'tenas (front and profile). Ornamented with red cedar-bark. Orange, blue. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1/8/4.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the rabbit. Set with mountain-goat skin. Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1/8/5.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing the owl. Black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1/8/6.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing t'ā'gun (the mountain). Natural color, black. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. 1/8/7.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing the raindrop. On top of the mask is a long switch set with feathers, only the lower part of which is shown. Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1/8/8.

[796] Fig. 7.—Bird-shaped implement worn by a companion of the shoulder-bird. It is filled with eagle-down. During the dance it is shaken, and the down flies out of the holes in the lower part of the implement and from the back. Length, 18 inches. Cat. No. 1/8/9.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the sea-monster G'ī'ts'ēx. Red, blue, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1/8/10.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing the spirit Ts'ekil'ts. Black, orange, set with bear-skin. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1/8/11.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing the hermaphrodites (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1/8/12.

[facing End Plate XI]

[Mac]

Masks and Carving of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XI]

7:Bone E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NES Bellacoola NES

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

△, Combination indicates black, vertical hachure, red, horizontal, blue, white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Anatlkam'a'x (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Anatlkam'a'x (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask worn by the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Natural color, black, red. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer. Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 6.—Carving representing the S'k'qoxs in the shape of an eagle. Red. Length, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 7.—Carving representing the S'k'qoxs in the shape of a wolf. Red, black. Length, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask worn by the assistant of the S'k'qoxs (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask worn by the Ôx (front and profile). Red, blue, black. Height, 1[illegible] inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 10.—Club carried by the Ôx. Red, blue, black. Length of head, 7 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

[facing End Plate XII.]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Masks and Carvings of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XII]

[End Plates XIII - XXVII not processed]